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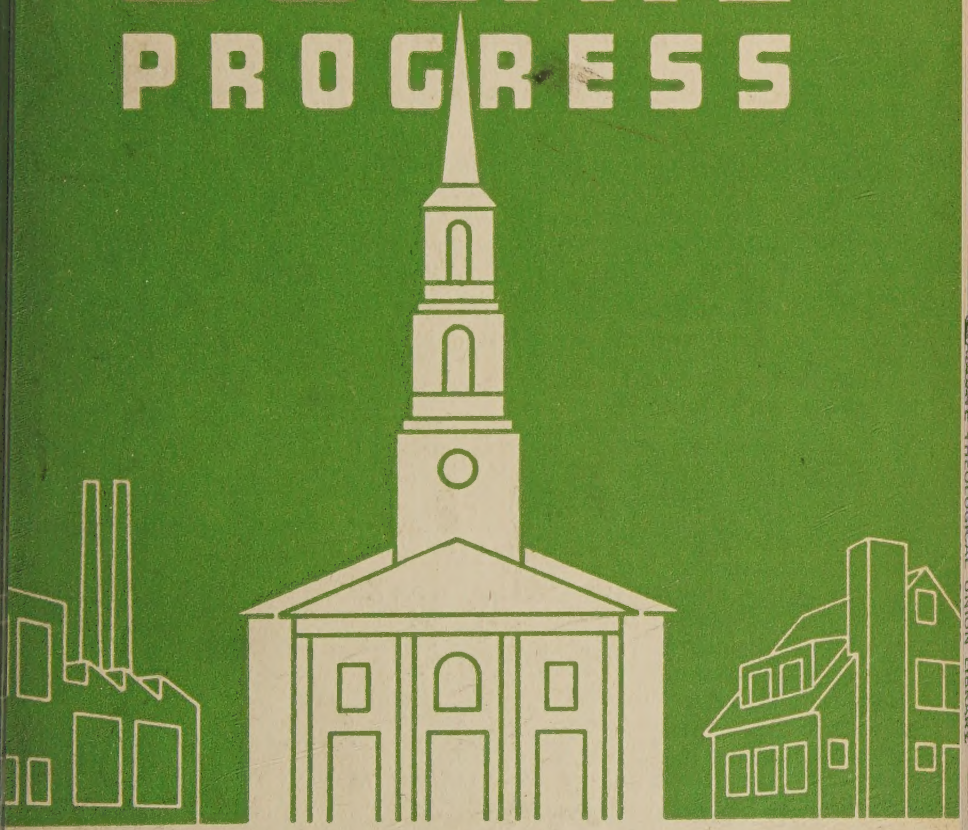

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Contents

Articles **Page**

The Perils of Victory, *by John A. Mackay* 1
The Federal Industrial Relations Act
The Public's Bill of Rights, *by Senator Harold H. Burton* 3
Will FIRA Promote Industrial Peace? *by Frank McCulloch* 6
Portents of Willow Run, *by Kermit Eby* 8
Inside Germany, *by Herman F. Allen* 11
San Francisco and British Colonial Policy, *by F. R. Flournoy* 14
Oakland and San Francisco, *by James B. Carey* 16
Shall We Have Peacetime Conscription? *by E. Raymond Wilson* 18

Editorial Comment

For Times Like These 20
Labor Sunday Message—1945 23

Sanctuary

Out of the Silence—*From* Prophetic Religion 24

World Order Movement

One World—One Peace 28

Political Action

Peacetime Military Conscription 29
The Martin Resolution—on Peacetime Military Conscription 30

About Books 39

Study and Action 42

Social Progress

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The Perils of Victory

*By John A. Mackay**

THE winter of warfare is over in Europe—for the present. Silence reigns from the Normandy beaches to the Russian frontier. A new springtime is coming. But it is the kind of springtime that makes us tremble and plunges us into a pensive mood, for ominous portents begin to appear, forebodings that history's new spring may be more terrible in the life of Europe than the winter that has passed.

A great void has opened in the soul of Germany and in the soul of her satellites. The gods of tradition, blood, and soil, which had inspired the hope that a millennial kingdom of imperial greatness was at hand, have fled their shrines. But what spirit or spirits shall fill them? How can that sense of meaning that is indispensable for a fresh start in life be restored? How can those people be made to feel that there is a place for them in any scheme human or divine?

But not only in the soul of Germany and her satellites has an ominous vacuum appeared. A void is equally present in millions of people who formed the underground resistance movement in the countries overrun by Germans and Italians. A startling moral void has been formed in multitudes of youth who in the name of patriotism resorted to the most morally repulsive methods to thwart and exterminate their hated foes. A distinguished Frenchman, who during these last years lived close to the underground movement in his country, has asked the question, "How can a moral sense be reborn in youth who have come through this terrible era?" Here is the stupendous spiritual task.

The blind pursuit of security is a second peril that confronts the victors of today. There is danger that, when the present war comes to an end in the Pacific, as it has come to an end in Europe, the victorious nations will fall into the opposite danger from that which marked the postwar era a quarter of a century ago. At that time, under the influence of political romanticism, they failed to take adequate measures to guarantee international security. Their danger this time is that they may take quite excessive measures. It is well to remember that the exclusive pursuit of security, whether in personal, social, or international life, has always been man's undoing.

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* President, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. From *Christianity and Crisis*, July 9, 1945. Used with permission.

Let the rulers recall Shakespeare's words in Macbeth:

> You all know, security
> Is mortals' chiefest enemy.

Only when security is breached and self-sufficiency shattered, only when men recognize their ultimate dependence upon God and the inexorable spiritual laws of the universe, are they truly safe. Concern about righteousness is the true basis for security. There is an ancient word of the Bible most relevant to the contemporary situation: "Timor domini initium sapientiae" ("The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.")

Tomorrow millions of common folks in every part of the world will confront the victors in this war in more anguished mood than ever before. They will protest, and their protest will be a prophecy. If beyond victory their needs go unmet, if despite Atlantic and other charters and much false talk about freedoms, the attempt is made to establish world order with exclusive or even predominant regard for the great nations and for the powerful and the rich within them, then let us know that the end of our time is near.

Through reasonable political and military measures another outburst of lawless demonism must be prevented. Retribution must be sternly exacted, yet with mercy intermingled. For the victors should remember that, while being executors of God's justice, they cannot themselves claim to be righteous in his sight. And woe betide any attempt at the permanent subjugation of the German and Japanese peoples! If at the close of the retribution period the economic and political arrangements still remaining in force do not commend themselves to the children of the vanquished as a fair attempt at international justice, there can be no abiding security. For no military might can cope forever with a burning sense of injustice. As T. S. Eliot has expressed it:

> Those who put their faith in
> worldly order
> Not controlled by the order of
> God,
> In confident ignorance but arrest
> disorder,
> Make it fast, breed fatal disease,
> Degrade what they exalt.

Only if the United States, Great Britain, and Russia make righteousness rather than security the highest object of their political devotion and the chart of their peacemaking shall the world be saved from a new imperialism and the wars to which imperialism gives birth. For only thus shall our stricken earth receive what it most deeply needs and anxiously yearns after—responsible trusteeship, power held in holy trust for the good of all.

The Federal Industrial Relations Act

The Labor Peace Bill, so designated by its sponsors, has been and will be for some time the center of much debate. Because of its significance, not only to management and labor but to the public as well, we present here first a statement of the purpose and content of the bill by Senator Burton, one of its sponsors; and, secondly, an analysis and critique of the bill by Frank McCulloch, an experienced observer.

The Public's Bill of Rights

By Harold H. Burton *

THE Labor Peace Bill recently introduced in the United States Senate as S. 1171 by Senators Hatch, Ball, and myself is the public's bill of rights.

It seeks to be fair, for nothing can last long in America that is not fair. Our Constitution is for the protection and benefit of all. It does not sanction the use of arbitrary force even by a majority against a minority. It recognizes the universal obligation of everyone to be fair to the general public from whom all just governmental powers are derived.

Those vested with governmental authority are not owners of it; they are trustees of it for the benefit of the public.

This bill takes no backward step. It is a step forward in the cause of labor. It clarifies and equalizes the rights of all parties in the light of experience. It protects the public where the public is concerned.

If we are to have steady employment and prosperity, fair treatment must be applied to the industrial employer, employee, investor, consumer, and also to those who do not work in organized industry but are affected by it. This includes, among others, small businessmen, returning soldiers, white-collar workers, farmers, Government workers, domestic servants, and all who contribute to the American standard of living.

The public's bill of rights touches upon seven labor relations:

1. *Delay and cumbersome procedure in solving labor disputes.* The bill decentralizes and thereby reduces the load of labor disputes on Federal agencies. It limits the Federal jurisdiction by excluding from it local controversies and controversies that affect interstate commerce only indirectly. These it leaves to state agencies. It excludes controversies concerning Government employment and employment by an employer of less than twenty

* United States Senator from Ohio.

employees unless the controversy threatens substantial interruption of commerce. It excludes employment of agricultural labor, domestic service, employment by labor organizations, controversies provided for by the Railway Labor Act, and those within the scope of the National War Labor Board.

2. *Unfair labor practices.* It clarifies these. It prohibits them by employer and employee alike. It assigns the prevention and punishment of them to an Unfair Labor Practices Tribunal of three members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

3. *The closed shop.* It recognizes the closed shop but requires fairness to its members and nonmembers. Because of the great economic power of a closed-shop union not only over those who wish to join it but over those who do not wish to join it, this bill declines to recognize a closed-shop union as the representative of the employees of a shop if it violates one or more of the following requirements: that its membership include at least 75 per cent of the employees to be covered by the proposed labor agreement; that the agreement be ratified on a secret ballot by 60 per cent of the employees covered; that admission to membership shall be on terms substantially equivalent to those enjoyed by the majority of its existing members; and that no member shall be deprived of membership in such a manner as also to lose his employment except on written charges and after a fair hearing. These are part of the bill of rights of the individual worker and part of the trusteeship that a closed-shop union owes to the public in return for the public's grant to it of certain legal authority over minority employees.

4. *Controversies under existing agreements need simplified procedure.* These grievances are to be settled by adjustment boards set up by the parties or by the Federal Industrial Relations Board. This procedure follows that of most modern labor agreements. It amounts to the substitution by law of a simplified industrial procedure in place of the complex court procedure which otherwise is prescribed by law for the determination of such violations of contracts.

5. *Need for dependable elections of bargaining representatives.* Controversies over the choice of bargaining representatives are to be decided by the Federal Industrial Relations Board, subject to court review. Elections may be held under the direction of the board. Fairness is as essential in these elections as in public elections. If these elections are recognized by law, their fairness should be secured by law.

6. *Need for authorized procedure and public protection in making new agreements and amendments to existing agreements.* Controversies arising out of new agreements or new amendments to existing agreements are to be settled by negotiation, mediation, or voluntary arbitration, somewhat as under the Railway Labor Act. Procedure will be simplified by consolidating all Federal conciliation services under the Federal Industrial Relations Board of five members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. If these voluntary procedures fail, the Federal Board may appoint a fact-finding commission or may recommend that one be appointed by the President. Except to the limited extent indicated below, all these proceedings are voluntary. The right of the individual to quit his work and to leave his place of employment is fully protected. The right to strike is protected, subject to the reasonable limitations prescribed below which are in the interest of the public.

The limitations on strikes are only that, during the brief periods while the Federal procedures are being followed to reach a voluntary adjustment, the right to strike and the right to lock out are suspended. Also in a few cases of severe hardship, to protect the public health, safety, and welfare, the fact-finding commission as a last recourse has the right to prescribe temporary terms of settlement normally for a one-year, and in no event for longer than a two-year, period. The kind of cases in which the public interest requires this protection are to be determined by the board in accordance with the provisions of the bill, and examples of cases in which severe hardship on the public would justify such temporary compulsory settlements of industrial differences are those in which otherwise there would occur a serious or protracted interruption of public utility or other public service, or of the supply of an essential food such as milk, or the supply of an essential fuel such as coal or oil.

7. *Report on the democratic control and operation of employer organizations and labor organizations.* The bill requires the Unfair Labor Practices Tribunal to investigate this subject and report, within two years, as to the need for legislation in this field.

The public is becoming more and more vitally dependent upon industrial relations, price levels, general employment, and ready access to the necessities of life. There is, therefore, increasing need for fair legislation in the nature of an industrial bill of rights for the public. This bill seeks to meet that need.

Will FIRA Promote Industrial Peace?

By Frank W. McCulloch *

Drastic changes in the handling of industrial disputes are proposed in the Federal Industrial Relations Act introduced in the United States Senate, June 20, 1945, by Senators Hatch, Burton, and Ball. The bill, S. 1171, was drafted by the Committee to Promote Industrial Peace, headed by Donald R. Richberg, formerly a labor lawyer, now a corporation attorney.

Although most observers give it little chance of passage, many expect an early flare-up of industrial conflicts and expect the public to demand strike curbs. An analysis of the Ball-Burton-Hatch proposal may help, therefore, to clarify the principles that should underlie any Government policy on industrial relations.

Main Provisions

1. *Administration.* The Act would establish a Federal Labor Relations Board of five members and transfer to it the United States Conciliation Service functions. The National Labor Relations Board would be abolished. Its functions of determining collective bargaining representatives and units would be assigned to this new agency. The new FLRB would also be given broad powers to set up adjustment boards, fact-finding commissions, and boards of arbitration.

In addition the bill would set up the Unfair Labor Practices Tribunal, with three members, to deal with unfair labor practices which are newly defined to include practices of both employees and employers.

2. *Settlement Procedures.*

(*a*) Controversies over representation would be handled by the new FLRB much as they are now under the NLRB.

(*b*) Controversies over grievances concerning the application of a union agreement or over discipline are to be handled by bipartisan adjustment boards, authorized to make binding awards.

(*c*) For "controversies over the making or maintaining of an agreement concerning wages, hours, or conditions of employment" and all others, the FLRB is directed first to employ mediation and conciliation and then, if agreeable, voluntary arbitration. Failing this, if the Board finds that the public interest so re-

* Director, James Mullenbach Industrial Institute.

quires, it can create or ask the President to create a special fact-finding commission to investigate, make a report, and give its recommendations within thirty days. Finally, where the Board finds that the public interest requires the parties to accept temporarily a compulsory settlement of their controversy, the Board may invest the fact-finding commission with the powers of a board of arbitration, which can make an award binding on the parties for a one-to-two-year period.

3. *Strike and Lockout Limitations.* In addition to outlawing strikes conducted in violation of contracts or aimed at settling grievances or compelling other managerial actions, the Act provides that pending the exhaustion of settlement efforts under the Act, it is the duty of both parties "to make no use of any unilateral, arbitrary, or coercive methods or compulsory processes to end the controversy or to obtain an advantage in its final determination, and . . . to make no change in the conditions out of which the controversy arose."

4. *Enforcement.* The new FLRB is given power to bring civil actions to enjoin any violations of the Act. Civil actions by any of the parties are also authorized, and the Board may refuse to recognize or certify collective bargaining representatives of parties violating the Act.

5. *Unfair Labor Practices.* The new set of eleven "unfair labor practices," which the tribunal is empowered to prevent (by procedures similar to those of the NLRB), apply to both employers and employees. The closed shop is prohibited unless the union represents 75 per cent of the employees, the agreement has been ratified by 60 per cent in a secret ballot, the union admits all applicants to membership on an equal basis, and no member may be expelled without written charges and fair hearing.

Proponents Contend—

Proponents of this bill argue that strikes in the months ahead will greatly injure the drive for full employment and that the public interest in continuous production even in peacetime comes ahead of the rights of the parties to fight out their economic battles. Senator Ball has contended that there must be domestic, as well as international, machinery for peace.

The limitations on the right to strike are justified as "within the fundamental authority of government to protect the public health, safety, and welfare." Fact-finding commissions are supported as a tested method of developing a public opinion to press for reasonable settlements.

(Continued on page 32)

Portents of Willow Run

*By Kermit Eby**

THE LAYOFF IS OUR PAYOFF — WILLOW RUN IS NOT EXPENDABLE—WHERE ARE THOSE 60,000,000 JOBS?—LET'S NOT RECONVERT TO UNEMPLOYMENT! This is a sampling of the placards carried by Willow Run Bomber Plant workers of Local 50, UAW-CIO, as they protested their layoff.

They've closed up Willow Run. They gave the workers Army-Navy E's and told them to go home because the Government and Mr. Ford didn't want the plant any more.

No one wants Willow Run, the $95,000,000 factory that produced almost 9,000 liberator bombers. No one wants the 51,950 pieces of machinery—lathes, mills, presses, shapers, et cetera—the 28,000 portable tools, the 988 typewriters and adding machines, the 1,450 autos, trucks, and tractors, the two beautiful airports (one bigger than La-Guardia Field in New York), the $25,000,000 super highway, nor the $25,000,000 war housing community. And no one wants the more than 20,000 human beings who go with the plant, or more than 100,000 if you count the workers in the plants that supplied Willow Run.

One isn't supposed to worry about the workers because "there are plenty of jobs." Yet a survey by Bomber Local 50 of laid-off Willow Run workers showed that only 41 per cent of the men and 3 per cent of the women are being referred to other jobs in the Detroit area. Those who are referred find they have to accept pay cuts averaging 25 per cent.

Women have rarely been offered new jobs. They were, in effect, told to forget their new skills, and return to their pots and pans. Yet a recent survey by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, made around Detroit, showed that three quarters of these women *must* work in order to wholly or partially support their families.

"What are we supposed to do?" said Mrs. Beatrice Fletcher, who worked in Department 960H. "My husband just came back from a t.b. sanitarium and won't be able to work for about a year, and we have two children, and here I am without a job."

Mrs. Marguerite Roberts, sole support of her daughter and baby grandson, says: "I'm in hopes they'll start up again. I can't understand why they'd let a good place like this lie idle."

And Red Cole, committeeman for Bomber Local 50, UAW-CIO, says bitterly: "Somewhere along the line

* Director of Education and Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations.

someone has bungled. You just don't close up an enormous plant like that—equipped the way it is—and tell that fine group, who have worked so hard and learned so much—to forget the skill of their hands, and go home."

Go home to what? Even the often inadequate unemployment compensation provided by law has largely missed fire in the welter of confusion surrounding the shutdown. Workers by the thousands were given the well-known run-around and brush-off through a combination of factors caused by misplaced Government controls and mishandled laws and mischievous employer behavior. The result was grave injustice done to the men and women who had won the battle of production. If they were lucky, they were free to "go home" and break their bad habit of eating every day. If they were unlucky, they had no homes to go back to; they were thoroughly uprooted by the war.

But it is not the workers alone who suffer through the economic waste and idleness caused by cutbacks. The *portent of Willow Run* is, in essence, the handwriting on the wall for every American. Unless this handwriting is erased by intelligent action, our country is doomed. To understand this clearly, calmly, without hysteria, is the responsibility of every thinking citizen—particularly those in roles of leadership: journalists, ministers, teachers, news commentators, and officers of community and social welfare organizations.

Look: When unemployment hit Willow Run, it drained away over $1,000,000 a week in lost pay rolls. There'll be $1,000,000 worth of unsold goods on storekeepers' shelves, thousands of dollars' worth of unsold farm produce, many unpaid doctors' and dentists' bills.

The fate of Willow Run is a bright-red danger flag for everyone. It's the visible top of the iceberg, the first mine in a mine field, the warning crack in thin ice, the tremor that precedes the earthquake. For those with eyes to see and ears to hear, Willow Run means LOOK OUT, Danger Ahead, Stop, Look, and Listen!

For the situation at Willow Run may well be a miniature picture of the country as a whole on V-J Day.

Everyone knew Willow Run would be cut back someday—Congress, executives agencies, Mr. Ford, and the free enterprise system. Yet among them they have cooked up not a single plan for use of the plant and employment of its workers. As they were not prepared for the cut when it came, so this country is totally unprepared for peace when it comes.

This is not a problem of the future. We must win the war with Japan, but we must not foolishly blind ourselves to the beginning of reconversion.

All told, 9,000,000 workers in war industries will be laid off and

10,000,000 veterans will be coming home, most of them wanting—no, *demanding* a job.

And this country cannot look its returning veterans in the face and say for certain, "Sure, we've got jobs for you." Twenty-eight thousand ex-soldiers and sailors were already unemployed at the end of April.

The bare essentials for successful reconversion are not hard to name. They revolve around the two critical facts of reconversion:

Crisis I: The "dislocation" of millions of workers and soldiers—"dislocation" being a fancy name meaning at loose ends, out of a job, having to move to find a job, changing type of work and pay, or any other upheaval in one's occupational and hence social and domestic life.

Crisis II: The sudden withdrawal of demand for over half the goods being produced today. We're producing some two hundred billion dollars' worth of goods a year now. The Government buys half, and "extraordinary" earnings—like overtime and wartime bonuses—account for an additional fifteen to twenty billion dollars.

To meet Crisis I, we need adequate legislation to cushion the bump. Right now we are coasting along with an ineffectual GI Bill of Rights and unemployment benefits that will mean near starvation for workers' families at present prices.

Men and women are being laid off *now*. They need help *now*. Yet one member of Congress remarked casually of the President's recommendations: "I don't know when we shall take it up. We have a good many other things to do." One of the "other things" may be providing corporations with excess profits tax relief. Unemployed workers with hungry children are not casual and do not expect their representatives in Congress to be so. Relief for human beings should come before relief for corporations.

To meet Crisis II, we need:

1. A national wage policy designed to maintain and increase purchasing power.

2. A price control program for consumer goods, to protect purchasing power.

3. A public works program—county, state, and federal—to provide employment and purchasing power if business fails to do so.

4. A plan for directing the flow of men and materials into an orderly resumption of essential civilian production.

5. A mechanism for anticipating economic dangers and meeting them, such as is provided in the Murray-Wagner Full Employment Bill.

If these be asking too much, then it is too much to ask that the workers, the farmers, the white collar, business, and professional people of the richest nation the world has known, be permitted to devise a method of living prosperously, securely, and in peace.

Inside Germany

*By Herman F. Allen**

AT THE request of the Editor of SOCIAL PROGRESS, I want to set down some observations concerning the people and the problems of occupied Germany. These are observations only and carry just that amount of weight. However, we shall do well to make notes on this portentous situation with all its mental and spiritual vacuums and tensions.

Our first trip into Germany was made in March during the fight for the Rhine. Villages just over the Belgian border were silent rubble. People began to appear farther along. The rubble was the same as we had lived in during the Normandy campaigning; so was the weariness. But the people were different. There was a mental and spiritual wall between us and the people in the fields and villages. You could hardly find them looking at you, and yet you knew they were watching. You were thankful to God that they were being beaten. They would have pushed us back into the sea were they able. But to anyone brought up under the Christian teaching about people it was inwardly painful. You wanted to come as a friend, and you could not. That was March on the Rhine. Now it is July in Bavaria. The past months have been great ones of inward brooding, thinking, checking, and imagining about the future. Here are some ways of looking at this situation in which we have the awful responsibility of the conqueror.

I

We are dealing with people. This is a "must" to remember. In our traveling through most of southern Germany we have yet to see an ideology walking around. But *people* are everywhere. Mostly they are German nationals. But there is an increasing number of displaced persons. It is not unusual to walk about in the streets of this village of Cham and encounter Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Greeks, Czechs. On Sunday there was a Hungarian family in our morning worship service. They are Calvinists. (They say that 20 per cent of the Hungarians are Presbyterians.)

We are dealing with people, and many of them are displaced. One day between Bayreuth and Nürnberg we counted about 500 persons on the road along this 50-mile stretch. Another time we counted about 20 per mile between Karlsruhe and Stuttgart. This included only those walking by the road's sides with their meager belongings, and rang-

* Chaplain with the United States Army in Germany.

ing from small children to aged folk. Some of these were Poles, Italians, and French, but a greater number were released German soldiers and displaced civilians. They rested by the road, ate by it, and slept there at night while journeying.

Family connections have been broken. It is not uncommon to have a Greek tell you that he has not seen his family since 1940, or for a Pole to tell you that it has been four years since he has heard from his family.

Many of these central Europeans have lost connection with their families. It would be sadly interesting to know the extent of the displacement of family life here. That this presents serious implications both of a moral and social nature is obvious. These people have unparalleled adjustments to make. The possibilities of social progress depend very much upon our being able to think and live in terms of people and their needs. In these years ahead we shall have to think in terms of food, clothing, shelter, education, personal needs, reconciliation, and community relationships. Labeled and ideological thinking and planning must wait until people are cared for.

II

It is also very important to remember that when we come to consider the German people as people we keep in mind their responsibility for this war. This is not meant in a self-righteous way. Both consciously and unconsciously the German people were part of a colossal attempt of the Nazi leaders to impose their will upon the neighboring countries. The Nazi program was a systematic, scientific, and dehumanized attempt to subjugate, enslave, and in part to destroy large parts of neighboring cultures and peoples. And the German people from the mother to the soldier were to be the instrument to that end. One evening last week we came upon an illustrated propaganda book depicting the rise of the Nazi party from its humble inception in 1920 to its commanding power in 1933. In those years Germany did rise, but poisoned in mind and with a sword in her hand.

When we first came into central Germany we evacuated several hundred recovered allied prisoners of war. In the wards they could always be picked out by their pale faces, emaciated bodies, and lack of spirit. Some of us have seen Buchenwald, and we have cared for small boys who have their concentration camp number tattooed on their thin arms. We have heard, until the reciting sounds like a phonograph record, of the scientific, dehumanized destruction of the Hitler Reich. Shower rooms suddenly made gas chambers, and their floors opening into hot furnaces! Wives torn from husbands, children from parents, small babies sacked alive and thrown into unfeeling fire! This sad and terrible

program of destruction and enslavement is enough to make God suffer the deepest anguish of spirit. Justice must be given its rightful place.

We are living with and dealing with people whose spirit was split, one part supporting the malignant growth of the Nazi will, the other clinging to the eternal God. To illustrate, on one floor of a home one may find a crucifix, and buried among the personal treasures of the home there one finds the idolatrous Nazi literature. Christ was obeyed in the church buildings, but not in the social, political life of Germany in general. Evidently that is what some people mean when they declaim against the Church's meddling in political matters. It interferes with devotion to an idolatrous State.

III

Justice is to be given its rightful place; so is redemption. In the long view the opportunity for redemption from a dehumanized intention of national will and reconciliation with the family of nations must be held open. Despair is not nourishing food for anyone. Recently three German nurses came into our evening song service at the local Evangelical Church. After singing from our Army and Navy hymnal for a while, one of the girls wanted to know if we would sing a hymn together from the German hymnal. Upon being told that it would be better if we continued singing from the service hymnal she was keenly disappointed. We have gained permission to assemble a group of civilians interested in sacred music. Their first rehearsal was successful, seventeen coming out to sing and discuss the sacred music of Bach and Brahms. Upon leaving, one of the men said, "The song is the spirit of the heart." Hearts and minds must be given opportunity for expression.

IV

In an article in the *Stars and Stripes* telling of the Nazi extermination of idiot children in the Kaufbeuren Asylum there appeared this significant sentence: "One Lutheran minister and a Catholic priest were discovered on the premises." It is certain that they were not there to help in the extermination, but to give spiritual comfort. And yet it is a puzzling sort of comfort—very. The Church Universal must share in the guilt that brought our world to subhuman standards—unless one happens to think of the Church as merely handing out little acts of comfort in situations calling for truth and regeneration.

Now after military victory the more immediate needs are the common necessities of life, for order, for the administration of justice. But equally needed are the things that properly belong to redemption and reconciliation, for we have been made of one blood. Perhaps the road back this time is the road back to God.

San Francisco and British Colonial Policy

*By F. R. Flournoy**

THE major proposals of the religious bodies of this country regarding world reconstruction have been substantially carried into effect in the United Nations charter drawn up at San Francisco, according to a recent statement made by John Foster Dulles. Few problems dealt with in the charter have received greater attention in Church pronouncements during recent years than that of the colonial peoples. Consequently the provisions of the document on this subject should be studied with interest by Church people.

The most important of these provisions are that the Governments administering colonies shall "ensure the political, economic, social, and educational advancement" of the latter, shall "develop self-government . . . according to the particular circumstances of each territory," and shall send to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization periodical reports regarding conditions in each colony. In addition, a Trusteeship Council was established to supervise or direct the administration of most of the territories, other than those already independent, that were taken from the defeated nations in the two world wars, and also others that may be voluntarily placed under this regime by the several colonial powers. The new council is to be guided in its work by a set of principles resembling those applying to colonial administration in general, but stated in somewhat more precise terms.

It is obvious that the success of these measures will depend very largely upon the extent to which the more important colonial powers are sincerely willing to carry them into effect. Some of these powers have already adopted and begun to put into force in their colonies reforms that to a considerable degree accord with the standards for colonial administration adopted at San Francisco. Perhaps chief among the nations that have done this is Great Britain, whose colonial empire, if India and Burma are included, is larger than all the rest put together. The remainder of this article, therefore, is devoted to an analysis of the British reforms.

While the tendencies embodied in these measures have been long at work in British policy, they have been greatly speeded up in recent years, especially since about 1931. Indeed, during these years, and especially since the opening of the present war, British colonial administration appears to have come under the influence of a new spirit

* Professor of history and political science, College of Emporia, Emporia, Kansas.

and to have been informed by a new philosophy. These factors have been set forth in the most striking manner by Lord Hailey, a veteran colonial administrator who is at present influential in planning the higher strategy of British colonial policy. According to Lord Hailey, the basic principle of British policy in the past has been the concept of trusteeship, which is strengthened now by the more dynamic concept of partnership between Britain and the several colonies in the execution of a broad program of reform.

The reform program may be regarded, however, as the work of the Labor Party as well as of the Conservatives and Liberals, since the chief Labor leaders have been members of the Cabinet since 1940. The Laborites indeed have been more ardent colonial reformers than the members of the other parties. Hence the recent change in administration will probably mean an acceleration in the speed of reform, though with no marked change in its aim and character.

The policy of partnership has been attacked on the ground that it may prevent the extension of self-government to the colonies. But the fact is that the extension of self-government is the first branch of the policy in question, and has in recent years been proceeding along much the same lines as those which in the past brought the various communities in the empire having large European populations to the status of dominions possessing virtual independence. By successive steps, Iraq and Egypt attained in 1931 and 1936 respectively the rank of sovereign states, though fortunately Britain retained the obligation to defend these countries against external aggression; and the status of dominions is to be attained by Malta and by Cyprus after the war.

In India the growth of self-government has gone on steadily over a long period of years. Through the Act of 1935, the Governments of the provinces, which were vested with authority similar to that of our states, were placed under virtually complete popular control, though the withdrawal of the ministers belonging to the Nationalist (Gandhi) Party from most of the provincial cabinets at the opening of the war has prevented the system from operating as was intended. The Indian central Government has to some degree been brought under popular control, though the executive branch has remained largely though by no means entirely under the direction of the viceroy.

In 1940 and 1942 the British authorities promised to grant to British India, or to any province thereof that might so desire, full dominion status after the war. This included the right to secede from the empire, provided certain conditions should be met, the most important of

(Continued on page 35)

Oakland and San Francisco

*By James B. Carey**

On opposite sides of the Golden Gate in California, in April, May, and June, 1945, two historic meetings were held. In Oakland, the World Federation of Trade Unions met; while across the Bay, in San Francisco, the United Nations Conference convened. The striking story of the relationships of these two conferences to further world organization and co-operation among the workers of the world and among nations in the fields of political and social organization is here told by a labor leader, active in the deliberations of both groups.

ONE of the most interesting developments of the recent conferences in San Francisco and Oakland was the recognition given unanimously to principles of Judaeo-Christian philosophy—a philosophy which should be kept in mind when progressive religious groups of every denomination consider the San Francisco-Oakland developments. For no Jew or Christian familiar with the principles on which his metaphysical belief rests can entertain the theory of the all-powerful state backed by force.

There is no variance in the moral principles expounded by the religious philosophers of the ages and the principles that are stated in the plans of organized labor throughout the world. We find, of course, differences in the application of those principles, just as we find variations in the application of governmental forms. Basically, however, the main premise remains the same.

Both the United Nations Conference on International Organization held in San Francisco and the World Federation of Trade Unions Conference at Oakland were constructed on this premise. Because the San Francisco conference involved a number of great political considerations, that meeting loomed larger in the public eye. It was primarily called to consider, as a main motion to be amended, adopted, or rejected, the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which were drafted last year by the four inviting powers, Great Britain, China, Soviet Russia, and the United States.

The United States was represented at the San Francisco conference by seven official delegates representative of both the Democratic and Republican parties, the armed forces, and the educational field. Working with the delegation were a number of official advisers drafted from Governmental departments.

On the next step lower were forty-two consultative groups, each repre-

* Secretary-Treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations.

sented by an official consultant and two associate consultants. These groups represented industry, labor, agriculture, religion, education, and racial and similar functional groups. Next in order came some 143 other organizations that had been invited to send observers.

The conference set up a world-wide structure. This comprised a top Steering Committee which allocated the work of the conference to various commissions. These commissions were four in number and treated of (1) General Structure; (2) General Assembly; (3) Security Council; (4) World Court. Each commission in turn distributed its work to committees that treated of individual questions.

Casual reading of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals reveals at once that it was basically a political document, written by politicians for politicians. This is not criticism, because the word "politician" should be interpreted here in the best sense. It describes the document, however. The main concept was all-out force as the only means of preserving the peace of the world. While the document mentioned an Economic and Social Council, the chapter dealing with the Council apparently had been tacked on as a sort of afterthought. The entire document contemplated establishing the Economic and Social Council as a subcommittee of the General Assembly. The all-important concept of human rights was mentioned only once and then most casually in the Dumbarton Oaks draft.

In all fairness to the delegates who drafted the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, it should be pointed out that considering the lack of precedent they did a remarkably able job. Their only guide was the structure of the old League of Nations which had failed because it too was constructed on the concept of force and economic sanctions against aggressor nations; and that erroneous influence held over and influenced to a degree the early thinking of the San Francisco conference. This is apparent in the structure of the conference itself. There was at the start great stress on the Security Council and the World Court. The General Assembly was classified as a debating society whose major function would be speechmaking, and economic and social co-operation was assigned to a minor committee.

An indication of the outmoded thinking of the political representatives at the conference when the meeting opened is reflected in the draft of the charter preamble, which, in the usual diplomatic language, began with the words: "We, the high contracting parties. . . . " In other words, the document to be drafted for world consideration was to be an agreement among and between the political groups that constitute the respective Governments.

(Continued on page 37)

Shall We Have Peacetime Conscription?

*By E. Raymond Wilson**

SHOULD every young man be required to undergo a year of military training?" This is the issue squarely before the Churches and before Congress.

The Congressional response to that question is indicated by the following: Representative Andrew J. May, of Kentucky, introduced in the House of Representatives on January 3, 1945, H. R. Bill 515. It was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs of which Representative May is chairman and present indications are that this Committee will hold hearings, probably in October, with a view to securing legislation before Christmas. The Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy of the House of Representatives conducted a thirteen-day hearing in June and then recommended that the United States adopt a system of universal military training. Representative Joseph W. Martin, of Massachusetts, Republican minority leader of the House, has presented a resolution, calling upon our Government to do its utmost to secure the international abolition of peacetime conscription.

Military Training or Service

Opinion differs as to the exact meaning of the terms used and the consequences of the program proposed. There are those who, like Archibald G. Thatcher of the Citizens Committee for Military Training of Young Men, Inc., insist that the word "conscription" correctly used means the compulsory recruitment of a regular standing army or navy from the people and does not properly apply to requiring compulsory military *training* only, either in peace or war. But in popular parlance "peacetime conscription" or "universal military training" are used as synonymous terms for any system of compulsory military training.

The Postwar Military Policy Committee, which considers policy and not detailed legislation, in their report made public in July, denied that such a plan would change or regiment the character of our citizens or militarize our people. Their recommendations urged that in enacting legislation, consideration should be given to such features as training men primarily for military service under conditions of modern warfare; it should be universal and democratic, applicable to rich and poor alike, and with a minimum of exemption or exceptions; it should provide for training youth in such a manner as to cause the least interference with their normal education;

* Secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Washington, D. C.

and it should provide for training only and should not require any sort of military service.

Provisions of the May Bill

The May Bill embodies four major ideas:

1. There is to be one year of training for every male citizen or alien resident upon attaining the age of eighteen or within four years thereafter, for which training the trainee is to be inducted into the Army or Navy.

2. The trainee is offered two choices: He may, under certain conditions prescribed by Congress, enter training during any year between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, and he may choose, also, the branch of service, Army or Navy, into which he will be inducted.

3. A six-year enrollment as a reservist in the land or naval forces follows the training period. During this time no compulsory military service can be required except in case of an emergency declared by Congress and under conditions prescribed by Congress.

4. Following the period of reserve enrollment, no man will be subject to further compulsory military service except in the event of a national emergency declared by Congress and under conditions prescribed by it.

It is to be noted that the May Bill makes no provision for conscientious objectors but does provide for punishment for violations.

PWM Policy Committee Hearings

In Opposition. With one exception, every religious, educational, farm, and labor organization, which appeared at the Postwar Policy Committee hearings, testified, either in favor of delay until after the war is over and a world organization is set up, or against peacetime conscription in principle. Dr. Herbert J. Burgstahler, president of Ohio Wesleyan University, appeared officially for the Federal Council of Churches and read into the record the statements of many denominations, affiliated religious organizations, and state councils of Churches. He pointed out that if we lead the world in a program of competitive training it will mean from seventeen to twenty million men every year with tremendous cost in money, in man power, and in the attitude of other nations toward peace.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Jewish Rabbinical Assembly recorded their opposition to action during the war.

Dr. Ganse Little, pastor of the Broad Street Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ohio, presented the statement on peacetime military conscription adopted by the last General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, urging that action be deferred until after the war and expressing "its earnest hope that the Government of the

(Continued on page 31)

Which Way Tomorrow's World

The modern world now has an opportunity which it has not had before and may not find again to rid itself of war. Consider these factors:

I. The United Nations have agreed that Germany and Japan are the danger areas to peace. Germany is now at the mercy of the United Nations, and it is only a matter of time before Japan will follow. Such complete defeat has never been suffered by modern nations. Their peoples are in our hands to do with as we will.

II. That the world is war-exhausted creates a host of problems of vast dimensions. But it means also that for fifteen years or more neither Europe nor Asia will be inclined to resort to military measures. Thus, nations of the world have this time in which to establish in sufficient strength co-operative means for the pacific settlement of later disputes.

III. The United States has definitely turned away from isolationism toward international co-operation. The ratification of the Bretton Woods agreement, of the Food and Agricultural Organization, and of the United Nations charter this summer by overwhelming pluralities reveals our willingness to help to bring international life progressively within the rule of law and order.

IV. There is now a world organization which gives this postwar world many advantages that were not available after the last war: It exists before the peace settlements have been made; its structure is stronger at important points than was that of the League of Nations; and it begins with United States and Soviet Russia within its membership.

This is not a total picture of today's international scene. There are within it other obstacles that appear all but insurmountable: physical conditions such as the devastation that thrusts whole areas back centuries; the vindictiveness and hatred that run both across and within national boundaries. But there is still significance in the new structure of international relations, and it is important to be aware of it so that we may exploit it for maintaining peace with justice.

The all-engrossing uncertainty is whether modern man possesses spiritual resources to capitalize upon the opportunity that lies within the setting or framework of international life. Will he rise to the promise that is in the occasion or will he let it pass? The Christian will contribute to a constructive answer along three lines.

ce These

On the level of faith: In personal experience with Christ he will know the love which God has for all men, which is the spiritual basis for a world, one in its economic, political, and social life.

On the level of churchmanship: In his participation in its life and work, he can help the Church to become a corporate demonstration of the fellowship that heals, cleanses, unites, and empowers all social relations, intimate and far-flung.

On the level of citizenship: He will accept for himself whatever are the consequences of his living conviction that the principles of social living which flow from his Christian faith are binding upon race, class, and nation as well as upon the individual and the family.

Black Market Buyers

A people at war are not apt to be self-critical. A later day, less charged with the emotions of war, will give a more balanced picture. But the extent of the current black market is something that only those who are resolved to be blind can overlook, for it indicates a flow in the national character that must give pause to any thoughtful citizen. The number of sellers in the black market is itself a disgrace; but these could not do business were it not for the buyers, who are not only large in numbers but include many otherwise respectable and law-abiding citizens.

It is not that there is a dearth of food, for the food which we need for health is adequate. It is simply that people insist that not only will they have enough food but also enough food of the kind they prefer. It is time that the Christian Churches took over, for this issue is basically an ethical one. Where is there spiritual foundation for sharing our plenty with the starving peoples of Europe and Asia if even under wartime conditions we willingly "pay extra in order to get our neighbor's share?" Where is there the spiritual power to build world order and international law if we excuse ourselves, on the basis of personal taste and convenience, from the admitted need for rationing?

Let the People Choose

In his brief address at the flag raising ceremony in Potsdam, President Truman declared that "there is not one piece of territory or one thing of a monetary nature that we want out of this war." Immediately the question was raised: What did he really mean? and many asked it with consternation. Two schools

of thought arose. One declared that these words must mean what they say. Their meaning is clear, and the President is a man whose manner of speaking is direct and to the point. Also, the Atlantic Charter is on the side of a common-sense view of these words. The first pledge that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt made in 1941 was that "their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise." This was one of "certain common principles in their national policies," these leaders declared, "on which they based their hopes for a better future for the world." What more appropriate for President Truman to affirm for himself, as President, this principle in an address that was wholly given to his hopes for a better future for the world!

But just as Mr. Churchill withdrew British policy toward India from within the provisions of the Atlantic Charter, so voices in Washington were instantly raised that the United States did not include certain Pacific areas within the terms of the Atlantic Charter. The Associated Press the next day reported a number of Senators who rushed to clarify the meaning of the President's words in respect to the islands that we have taken from the Japanese in this war. The following comment of one is typical of all: "We must retain these island bases. We need them to keep the future peace in the Pacific." *The New York Times* reported part of the statement of Senator Connally before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in its hearings on the United Nations charter: "Under our conception, all we have to do is hold onto them [i.e., islands in the Pacific] until such time as we need to give them up. I do not think we would want to give them up if they are in a strategic area. If we did, we would give them up with strings on them."

Obviously, here are two alternatives: one, an interpretation of the words of the President in the light of the Atlantic Charter; the other, an interpretation of those words in the light of a policy, based upon the right of conquest and military security, for the United States to retain for itself title and control of certain areas in the Pacific. Ultimately, the American people must be allowed to choose. Which alternative will it be?

Peace Settlements

The problem of territorial settlements is acute, especially in Europe. With these problems the people of the United States are concerned. But they will be more directly involved in questions of territorial settlements which are related to the Atlantic and the Pacific, to Africa and Asia. This General Assembly feels there are grounds for apprehension at this point and feels impelled to sound a note of warning against imperialism under the guise of "self-defense." Christians must be vigorously active in applying Christian standards to the conduct of the United States as in judging the actions of other nations.

The 157th General Assembly.

*Labor Sunday Message — 1945**

There are moments in the world's history when great decisions are taken, the implications of which shape many decades. We stand now at such a juncture of history and destiny. Revolutionary ideas, underlying the war and intensified by it, struggle for mastery. Every sector of society is involved in the struggle; there is no neutral territory. The workers of the world, and especially their organized movements, will be deeply affected by the outcome of the struggle, and the patterns of the future depend very largely on their policies and their strength.

The Christian Church has a deep and abiding concern in this situation. By virtue of its own organized life in the world it is involved at every turn, and by its Gospel it is committed to work for justice and brotherhood in all areas of society. Under God, as he is revealed to us in Christ, all men belong to one community, are subject to one righteous judgment, and have one hope of redemption. . . .

Governmental agencies, the Churches, employers, and workers are especially responsible for certain tasks in our domestic industrial sphere. These tasks include:

1. Making possible an adequate and secure standard of living for all, based on full employment, a high level of production, good housing, and sufficient protection by social insurance against hazards of accident, illness, unemployment, and old age.

2. Providing an assured annual wage for all workers and an adequate annual income for every family.

3. Preserving those legislative gains which constitute a new Magna Charta for labor. Having championed the fundamental rights of labor for many years before their recognition in statute law, the Churches feel a peculiar responsibility for their maintenance and further extension. In particular, support should be given now to exploited workers in backward areas of American society where the local culture is almost fascist in character. Management cannot afford to be judged by such conditions any more than organized labor can permit them to go unchallenged.

4. Integrating into our industrial order all workers without handicap because of sex, race, creed, or color.

5. Accepting special responsibility for the happy adjustment of returning service men and women to civilian tasks, and the effective relocation of war workers in a peacetime economy.

6. Extending workers' education, and developing a labor and industrial leadership competent to serve the general welfare in difficult years ahead.

7. Finding constructive ways of using the increasing amount of leisure time which successful industrialization makes possible and imperative.

8. Strengthening the incentives and deepening the meaning of labor by renewed emphasis on the Christian doctrine of vocation, and by according equal honor to all men who do essential tasks faithfully.

9. Averting a renewal of industrial warfare when the international war has ended, not by repressive legislation presuming to coerce peace but by insistence on conference and negotiation as democratic methods of solving disputes. . . .

Ours is the task of finding prophetic vision for the decisions the hour requires, and of engaging in vivifying deeds for the redemption of the times and the shaping of the future.

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* Approved by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and issued through its Department of Christian Social Relations.

Requested to be read in the Churches on Labor Sunday, September 2, 1945, or, if preferred, on September 9, 1945.

Sanctuary

Out of the Silence *

We pray that God will be with us in this place—
But God was here already, even before we came.
We pray that God will speak to us—
But God has already spoken and is continuing to speak in all life about us.
We pray that God reveal his will to us—
But God's will cries to be known, even in the disorder, the lostness, and loneliness of the universe.
We wait in our meetings and services and devotionals for the soft voice of God—
But we do not hear anything,
For the voice of God is terrible
And the will of God is not man's will.

It is a dangerous thing for a group of people to come together and in the silences of their own hearts to seek to hear and interpret God—
For in it there is no comfort;
For in it there is no security;
For in it there is no rest.

But we have dared to come into this place seeking to know the purposes of God for us in our land in this hour.

(Silence)

The Lord is everlasting.
He is creator of the entire earth;
Nor is he weary of creating.
His ways are wonderful and his understanding beyond any human understanding.
They that search for understanding and they that wait truly upon the Lord shall find their senses sharpened, their insights deepened, and their courage heightened.
They shall mount up with wings as eagles;
They shall run and not seek comfort;
They shall walk and not want rest.

Let us be silent in the deep recesses of our souls and listen to the voice of the Eternal.

(Silence)

Were you there when they crucified my Lord?
Were you there when they crucified my Lord?
Oh sometimes it causes me to tremble, tremble,
Were you there when they crucified my Lord?

* From *Prophetic Religion*, summer, 1945. Reprinted with permission of The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, publishers.

YES, I WAS THERE IN 1941 in a small western North Carolina town where a little Japanese man kept a shop on Main Street. People from all over town and summer visitors went into his shop to buy gifts. War came to America when Pearl Harbor was bombed. And war came to the little town soon afterward when some unthinking people hurled rocks into the windows of the little shop. But the rocks broke more than the windows. They broke faith in the heart of the little Japanese man—a faith in the American people with whom he had lived all his life. After the incident the mayor of the town apologized, but some of the people did not change their attitude. The little Japanese man remained quiet, but inside him was a deep hurt. Now he is sick. He lives over his shop which he was forced to give up. Part of his sickness is physical, but there is a sickness in him more painful than bodily suffering. It is a sickness that only understanding can heal—if the people would offer it to him.

To a young lawyer Jesus once said:

"A man once was making a trip from Jerusalem to Jericho, when he met some robbers who, after stripping him and beating him, went away leaving him half dead by the roadside.

"Now a priest happened to be going along on the same road. He saw the man but passed by, leaving him where he lay.

"A Levite also came down the road and even stopped to look at the wounded man, but left him where he lay.

"But a certain Samaritan, being on a journey also, came where he lay and saw how greatly he was in need.

"He treated the wounds, then set the man on his own mule and brought him to an inn and took care of him himself. The next day when he left he gave two shillings to the innkeeper.

" 'Take care of him,' he said, 'and if this isn't enough, I will pay the rest on my next visit.'

" 'Now,' said Jesus, 'which of these three really acted like a neighbor to the man?'

" 'The one who took time to help him,' the lawyer answered.

" 'Go,' said Jesus, 'and act in the same way.' "

Were you there when they crucified my Lord?
Were you there when they crucified my Lord?

YES, I WAS THERE IN 1940 in a slum section of St. Louis where many people lived in abject poverty. Homes were so miserable and open that on the coldest days many children had to sleep in one bed, because there was no heat in the house. As families could not afford to buy much coal at a time, they could not buy it economically. They had to pay from forty to fifty cents per bag and most of them who could afford to have a fire at all had it only every other day. A young minister went to work in this section. Upon investigation he found an inexpensive kind of smokeless coal that could be brought in huge quantities to St. Louis from a near-by center. He organized coal co-operatives which members ran themselves, enabling them to buy the coal at fifteen cents per bag. The young minister could not separate his spiritual and physical ministry.

For if ye thoroughly amend your ways and your doings;
If ye thoroughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbor;
If ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow,
And shed not innocent blood in this place,
Neither walk after other gods to your hurt:
Then will I cause you to dwell in this place.
I am too weary in my sorrow.
Listen to the cry of my people.
They cry because of oppression
When my people are hurt,
I am hurt.
Is there no balm in Gilead?
Is there no healing there?
Then why is the health of my people not recovered?
Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness,
And his chambers by wrong;
That useth his neighbor's service without wages,
And giveth him not for his work.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these ye have done it unto me."

Were you there when they crucified my Lord?

YES, I WAS THERE IN 1943 where children were being brought back from battle areas in Russia—homeless and parentless. One man came to a center where the children were being distributed for adoption. "I don't want the healthiest or prettiest, but the sickliest, ugliest one. That is the one who will need the most loving," he said.

They brought to him a poor, rickety little thing with a muddy green complexion and the dull eyes of an old woman.

The man took her to his farm. There in the garden under the bright Uzbek sky, among peaches, apples, and melons, the little girl began her new life.

Six months later they found her—a nimble, sunburned, barefoot little girl. The wonder-working climate had almost completely cured her of rickets. Her eyes had lost their old woman's look. They were the clear eyes of a child.

"Anybody will take a pretty, healthy child," the man said. "They are like dolls—nice to dress up and show off. But if you really want to help most, you must take the weakest, the sickest, and make a sound person out of her."

"For if you love only those who love you, what reward have you earned? And if you salute only your brethren, are you doing anything remarkable?"

Jesus said unto them, "They that are whole do not need a physician, only they that are sick."

Oh sometimes it causes me to tremble, tremble,

Were you there when they crucified my Lord?

YES, I WAS THERE IN 1944 in Pikeville, Tennessee, when a sixteen-year-old boy accused of murder was lynched by a mob of men who have not yet been apprehended

That a human being could be destroyed by mob violence and voices not rise up all over our land in protest against mob violence is an indictment to decent society.
That a human being could be destroyed by mob violence and the Church keep quiet is an indictment to the quality and depth of Christianity we profess.

And Jesus said, "The spirit of God lives in me.
He has anointed me to help remove poverty;
He has sent me to heal people whose hearts are broken
And bring deliverance to people who are captive to prejudices, bitterness, superiority, and mob violence;
And recovery of understanding and sight of those who have been blinded.
He has sent me to preach new world beginning."

And we too shall receive power
When the spirit of God lives in us.
We shall proclaim a new kind of witness of the spirit in Knoxville, in the Southland, in all America, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.

Were you there?

YES, I AM THERE as long as prejudice, exploitation, frustration, hunger, oppression, injustice are experienced by one human being on this earth.

(Silent Prayer)

Lord, I want to be a Christian in-a my heart, in-a my heart;
Lord, I want to be a Christian in-a my heart.
In-a my heart, in-a my heart, Lord, I want to be a Christian in-a my heart.

Lord, I want to be like Jesus in-a my heart, in-a my heart;
Lord, I want to be like Jesus in-a my heart.
In-a my heart, in-a my heart, Lord, I want to be like Jesus in-a my heart.

AMEN.

Suggestions for the use of this "Office of Self-examination" in the Church or other Church services:

Participants:
Minister or leader
Choir or soloist
Reader or the people

The Minister or leader will read the first section and the following passages set in boldface type; the Choir or a soloist will sing or read the musical responses: "Were you there?" (set in italics); a Reader or the people will read the responses: "Yes, I was there"; and the People will join the Reader and the Choir in the final responses.

One World

The writer sat in the Senate gallery during an afternoon of the debate on the ratification of the charter. Senator Wheeler, of Montana, had the floor for much of that time. His long speech ably represented a point of view and the discussion that interrupted his prepared address was spirited and clarifying. Briefly and listlessly he declared that he would vote for ratification. But at length and with fervor he discussed the great weakness of the charter, and voiced profound concern for the United States within the Organization. To one listener, at least, it was apparent that Senator Wheeler had no liking whatsoever for giving his vote in support of the charter. Obviously his only reason for doing so was the overwhelming support of the charter by public opinion in his state; and the same thing probably may be said of other Senators who voted for the charter.

We, the People

It is important that we, members of Churches and citizens of the nation, be aware of this demonstration of the power of informed and aroused public opinion and remember its effectiveness in relation to the work of the United States delegation at San Francisco and the all but unanimous vote in the Senate. From the period when the drawing up and the ratification of the charter was the great issue we now pass to the period when the character of our participation in the United Nations demands major attention. And, by way of encouragement, we may take grateful satisfaction in the solid achievement of public opinion in the period just over in which the Churches had a demonstratable share.

One Peace

There is a fundamental assumption that underlies the United Nations which must be understood and accepted if the charter is to receive intelligent and effective support. This assumption is that a threat to the peace of the world anywhere is a threat to the peace of the world everywhere. This assumption is inescapable in the light of the global character of human relations today. Just as it has been assumed that the so-called European war and the so-called Japanese war were in truth but two phases of a single global war, the progress of one acting upon the progress of the other, so those who drew up the charter assumed that what threatens the peace in one continent makes itself felt in the equilibrium of other continents.

What this assumption means is essentially that it is to the self-interest of each nation to eliminate the causes and suppress the threats to war anywhere in our closely knit modern world. We are "members one of another," in that every nation lives under the threat of involvement in any war no matter where may be its origin. Similarly, we are "members one of another," in the need of each for the help of the others in establishing collective means for the pacific settlement of the disputes that threaten peace.

World Order Sunday

This year, World Order Sunday will be November 11, a fact which makes such an observance the more appropriate. As formerly, the 157th Presbyterian General Assembly joins in the call of the Federal Council of Churches and the International Council of Religious Education to the Churches "that during the month of November emphasis be given to study and action on the international aspects of World Order joining in the interdenominational observance on November 11 as World Order Sunday." *

* A leaflet entitled *World Order Sunday, November 11,* providing program suggestions for the local Church for that observance, may be ordered, without cost, from the WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Peacetime Military Conscription

Opposition to peacetime military conscription should be positive rather than negative. It should support some alternative. Read in this light, the statement of the General Assembly adopted last May is perhaps as significant a public statement as has been made. For the second year, the General Assembly went on record as unequivocably opposed to Congressional action *now* on this issue, and in this it stands against the report of the Postwar Military Policy Committee of the House of Representatives.

But the 157th General Assembly went beyond mere opposition to offer a series of constructive recommendations among which is the following: "That General Assembly express its earnest hope that the Government of the United States will use its good offices for international agreement on the elimination of national peacetime military conscription." It is most unlikely that Congressman Joseph W. Martin, Jr., had this in mind in introducing his resolution in the House of Representatives, urging "that before the United States adopts compulsory military service, the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the personal representative of the President on the United Nations Organization, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., be and hereby are urged to work unceasingly for an immediate international agreement whereby compulsory military service shall be wholly eliminated from the policies and practices of all nations." Clearly, this embodies the substance of what the General Assembly sought.

This resolution of the minority leader of the House of Representatives is one that could well lead to the achievement of its purpose. First, the prestige of the United States carries such weight in the highest international circles that its support of an international agreement to eliminate compulsory military service would place it high on the agenda of international negotiations. Secondly, this resolution is in keeping with one of the provisions in the United Nations charter by which the General Assembly "may consider . . . the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both" (Art. 11). The importance of disarmament to the future of the United Nations has been stressed by high officials within the State Department.

This resolution is one around which all can and will rally except those who want conscription for its own sake.

Act Now!

1. Read the full text of the resolution (see page following).

2. Write to the President of the United States, supporting the resolution.

3. Write to the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., commending him for the leadership which he has taken.

4. Write to your own Congressman, or better, visit with him while he is at home during the recess of the House.

5. Write an open letter to your local newspaper, drawing attention to this resolution and its constructive character.

6. Talk to your friends and neighbors, urging them to do likewise.

Other Bills

Are you familiar with the purpose, content, and present status of the following bills mentioned in articles in this issue? Write to your Congressmen about them:

Federal Industrial Relations Act—See articles on pages 3 and 6.

Murray-Wagner Full Employment Bill—See "Portents of Willow Run," page 8.

The May Bill—See article on peacetime conscription, page 18.

The Martin Resolution

The full text of the resolution on the world-wide abolition of compulsory military service, introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Joseph W. Martin, Jr., minority leader of the House.

WHEREAS the first concern of every American is the security of the nation; and

WHEREAS the American people are determined that their Government shall hence forth make proper provision for the continuous maintenance of such security; and

WHEREAS, in accordance with this firm determination, it has become necessary to consider a system of compulsory military service in the United States as a perma nent part of our insurance against unpreparedness in the event of sudden war; and

WHEREAS compulsory military service would result in greater restrictions over the lives and activities of our people, would impose heavy burdens on them, causing greater taxes and profound changes in their way of life; and

WHEREAS compulsory military service has long been customary in many European states and elsewhere, but has been contrary to American tradition since the founding of our republic; and

WHEREAS compulsory military service has never prevented war in Europe or elsewhere, but, on the contrary, causes suspicion and fears to grow between nations and inclines the rulers of men to war rather than to peace; and

WHEREAS fifty nations, having expressed their desire for peace, met at San Francisco and resolved to make greater efforts than ever before to abate the fear and likelihood of war in the years to come; and

WHEREAS the people of the United States and their leaders in all sections and parties have in good faith approved the San Francisco charter and desire our President to take a leading part in fulfilling the great purposes for which it was formed; and

WHEREAS with the ultimate destruction of the military power of Germany and Japan there will never be a better time than now to secure international agreement looking to permanent peace; and

WHEREAS an agreement between the nations of the world to eliminate systems of compulsory military service would itself be greatly conducive to that restoration of peace which is so profoundly desired by all the plain peoples of the world, and would release their energies and resources for rebuilding their war-devastated countries; and

WHEREAS world-wide abolition of compulsory military service in no way precludes the maintenance of national or international military forces adequate for safeguarding national or collective security; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that before the United States adopts compulsory military service, the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the personal representative of the President on the United Nations Organization, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., be and hereby are urged to work unceasingly for an immediate international agreement whereby compulsory military service shall be wholly eliminated from the policies and practices of all nations.

Shall We Have Peacetime Conscription?

(Continued from page 19)

United States will use its good offices for international agreement on the elimination of national peacetime conscription."

In addition to the thirteen religious agencies testifying in opposition, there were seven labor organizations, three large national farm organizations, and thirteen educational agencies or commissions. In all, fifty-eight organizations appeared against peacetime conscription. Newspapermen commented on the fact that never in recent years had they seen all these character-building agencies on the same side of a question. There was some comment also on the fact that so many of the religious spokesmen stressed the factor of delay, rather than the moral principles involved, and the query was heard more than once whether the Churches were asserting the moral leadership in this question which the country had a right to expect.

In Support. Appearing in favor of a system of universal military training were generals and fleet admirals, the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, representative citizens and veterans' associations, the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Council of Churches.

It was argued that universal military training would help to deter future aggressors, that two oceans are no longer guarantees against attack, and that in a world of robot bombs and high-powered planes we would be the first to be attacked in case of another war. If we get into war, military training, it was claimed, would reduce the potential loss of life. Stress was laid upon the military values of preparedness, although some witnesses argued that the benefits of health, discipline, citizenship, and education would be considerable.

Secretary of War, Stimson, told the committee that he saw no inconsistency whatever in working to perfect a world security organization and establishing universal training. He asked for a security system "that goes with the strong and tested character of the citizenship of the nation, giving to that nation a leadership among the nations of the world and a well-founded respect for it on their part which swells its power and influence throughout the world." General Eisenhower wrote that "fairness to the country and the individual's chances of survival in war demand that such able-bodied citizens receive in time of peace a thorough grounding in technique, a discipline, and understanding of the citizen's obligations in time of emergency."

Public opinion will decide this issue probably within the next few months. What answer will the Churches give in a hungry, devastated world needing large-scale relief and rehabilitation and the rebuilding of the shattered fabric of society and government?

What Do You Think?

Every Christian citizen has an opportunity to express his opinion in relation to this far-reaching question of peacetime military conscription which can so profoundly affect the future not only of the youth of America and, by example, the government policies of other nations.

If you are interested, write to your Congressman, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., or to the House Committee on Postwar Military Policy, for a copy of the hearings of last June and use them as a basis for study and discussion. On page 30 you will find a copy of the Martin Resolution and on page 29 suggestions for the expression of your opinion to the President and members of Congress.

The Federal Industrial Relations Act

(Continued from page 7)

The arguments in favor of "balancing up" the restrictions on labor and management rely primarily on a judgment that labor is in the saddle and that "management fighters have been crippled by restrictive laws."[1] The closed-shop requirements are proposed because the sponsors believe it interferes with the "right to work" and because some unions have failed to eliminate certain undemocratic practices, like color bars. The adjustment boards for grievance cases are supported on the basis of experience under the Railway Labor Act.

Public Reactions

Labor's denunciations of the bill were immediate and vigorous. William Green described it as a straight jacket for labor. Philip Murray said it was a "bald-faced attempt to destroy unions and would tear the heart out of the Wagner Act." The miners' journal called it a "ripper bill." Labor spokesmen on the radio likened it to the antilabor "American plan" of the 1920's and charged that it would be a "WPA for the lawyers."

Other groups also gave the bill a cool reception. Senator Wayne L. Morse (Republican of Oregon) was reported to consider it "industry-slanted." But some spokesmen for industry and *The New York Times* expressed themselves in opposition to its provisions for compulsory arbitration. *Business Week* predicted that this section would win the hostility of organized management, "which considers compulsory arbitration a serious invasion of freedom and which has good reason for believing that it leads to compulsory union membership."

Recollections of the passage of the Smith-Connally Act over a presidential veto, however, served to remind all observers that Congress, under the impetus of a wave of strikes, might pass even very drastic legislation.

Objections to the Act

1. *Compulsory Arbitration.* Where compulsory arbitration has been tried, it has not been satisfactory. America's experience with it during the war has not won management, labor, or even WLB members to the support of such processes. It imposes on the Government an obligation for detailed regulation of complex industrial decisions. However, it is by no means clear that the Government has either the basic principles or the personnel for such wise and expeditious administration.

Instead, America greatly needs to develop free collective bargaining and voluntary agreements, and there is good reason to hope that the constantly increasing acceptance of voluntary arbitration and the strong postwar economic pressures will be sufficient to prevent prolonged strikes and lockouts. It will be interesting to see whether those who resist Government intervention in general as the "road to serfdom" will embrace this more detailed proposal for industrial relations regulation.

2. *Strike Restrictions.* While persuasion and mobilization of public opinion are methods that union organizations can and do increasingly employ, there can be no doubt that the use of labor's collective economic strength is its most effective instrument in the struggle to match the concentrated economic force of management. In most

[1] From the *Outline of Program for Industrial Peace*, by Donald R. Richberg.

American industries, organized labor's power is rather narrowly limited. In many it is precarious. In more it is nonexistent. The restrictions of the bill would seem to deprive labor of an implement which it still needs in its struggle for justice. Actually a quick strike may lose less production for the public than a long arbitration.

3. *Restraints on Union Activities.* The restrictions in the bill against using "unilateral, arbitrary, or coercive methods," against "inducing or coercing employees to join," against "interrupting, disorganizing, or delaying" work to compel adjustment of grievances or other managerial actions, or "otherwise to hamper or embarrass an employer," are samples of the vague provisions that might be interpreted to prohibit all manner of legitimate union activities.

4. *Increased Litigation.* The ambiguous terms and expansion of the scope of court review in the proposed measure threaten to encumber the administrative procedures with needless, and perhaps endless, legal delays.

5. *Weakening of Norris-LaGuardia Act.* The protections of the Norris-LaGuardia Act against the wholesale use of injunctions in labor disputes are partially removed.

6. *Federal Jurisdiction Narrowed.* The Act expressly excludes many employers now subject to the Wagner Act and by several provisions tends to restore the uneven patchwork of separate state treatment to economic issues that are increasingly federal in their scope and influence.

7. *Closed Shop Restrictions.* In view of the general attacks on union security and the closed shop by enemies of organized labor, unions understandably regard the restrictions of this bill as merely part of a drive to weaken their status. The so-called "right to work" without belonging to a union usually becomes in application the "right to undermine union security." The laudable aim to require unions to keep open membership and thus break down racial barriers has been supported by unions themselves in their advocacy of national and state legislation for permanent Fair Employment Practice commissions.

8. *Sidetracking Union Grievance Machinery.* The section permitting individual employees to adjust grievances with management without "interference" of any other person seems bound to weaken the union's position as exclusive bargaining representative of an employee group.

9. *Railway Precedents Inapplicable.* There is far greater maturity in the industrial relations of the railway industry than in most others. In any case, the compulsory arbitration procedures of this bill go far beyond the Railway Labor Act.

10. *Fatal Wagner Act Revisions.* In its new set of unfair labor practices, the Act almost wholly discards the phrases in the Wagner Act which by board and court decisions have come to have a fairly clear meaning in prohibiting employer practices aimed at preventing or destroying union organization. This Act rests on the false assumption that labor is now the more powerful force in America and erects elaborate, if vague, protections for management.

The way in which the bill seeks to counteract the alleged one-sidedness of the Wagner Act is demonstrated in the authority given the FLRB to deny certification to either party, a penalty which obviously only the unions would regret. In the ten years of NLRB operation, many employers have learned to live with the Wagner Act. Many unions owe

their existence to its protections. To weaken it, as this Act does, would be an unfortunate step.

11. *Partisan Sponsorship.* Despite the protestations of the sponsoring Committee to Promote Industrial Peace, its "nonpartisanship" is open to question. While all are doubtless able and sincere gentlemen, the members of the committee include a number of corporation lawyers, a nonunion employer, and officers and directors of several substantial business enterprises, but no one even close to labor. The confidence of the public, and certainly of unions, in the objectivity of the proposals might be greater had the committee been more representative.

The Public and Industrial Peace

Unfortunately public opinion in America is poorly prepared to decide these issues. The exaggerated reports about strikes have developed an illusion that they are the principal industrial disease that requires treatment. The unfavorable publicity about labor, while true of a few unions in some places, has given the public the incorrect impression, as revealed in a recent Gallup poll, that labor in general has been the prime beneficiary of the nation's war effort. There is little understanding of the causes of strikes or of the basic facts about labor.

"Industrial peace" which involves only the absence of strikes is certainly not real peace. For example, there is no peace or security for workers who are paid less than sixty-five cents an hour. Yet a Senate committee recently reported ten million non-agricultural workers in this class. There is no peace for workers whose efforts to organize are still thwarted by violence or by more subtle forms of opposition. There is no peace for workers facing layoffs or deep cuts in their take-home pay. In the long run there can be no industrial peace without a rising standard of living, a better sharing of the benefits of our industrial system with the millions now in the low income groups, and strong, responsible labor organizations that can balance the concentrated economic and political power of management in a democratic society.

The public has a stake in these objectives as well as in reducing strikes, for only so can it protect human personality and promote justice. The present Act cannot promote industrial peace merely by erecting machinery to outlaw or punish strikes and enforce settlements. It cannot advance such peace by weakening the position of the labor movement. Actually, where exploitation and injustice still prevail, the use of economic pressure and of strikes may well be a great aid in the long-run achievement of such peace. The public's prime objective, therefore, should be the encouragement of all processes to solve the underlying problems of wages, cost of living, full employment, and the status of the labor movement. In the opinion of this writer, the proposals in the new Act for fact-finding commissions and for bipartisan adjustment boards to handle grievances in organized industries might make some contribution to the existing settlement machinery. Likewise, the passage of fair employment practice acts to eliminate racial and religious discriminations by management and labor is long overdue.

The other provisions in the Act seem likely to produce more chaos and uncertainty than true industrial peace. They fit too neatly into the pattern of the national campaign developed by the so-called Christian Americans and other antilabor forces to outlaw the closed shop and repeal the Wagner Act. It is to be hoped that the timing of this dangerous proposal was not designed and will not serve to distract responsible labor leaders from their present constructive drive to prevent wage deflation and to win a national full employment plan. Should that occur the public interest would surely suffer.

San Francisco and British Colonial Policy

(Continued from page 15)

which was that guarantees be given for the peaceful adjustment of the Hindu-Moslem conflict. These promises have been repeatedly reaffirmed, and the British recently attempted, after releasing the principal Nationalist leaders from confinement, to carry through a plan whereby these and other Indian party leaders would assume most of the portfolios in the cabinet of the central Government. Though this attempt has failed, Prime Minister Attlee has intimated that a renewed effort will be made to break the constitutional deadlock in India.

The neighbors of India are also obtaining a considerable measure of self-rule. In the case of Burma and Ceylon, which had become largely autonomous before 1939, the first is to receive dominion status at an early date, and the second is to have full autonomy except in respect to foreign affairs, defense, and a few other related matters. Malaya is obviously not ready for such far-reaching reforms, but according to a recent official declaration it is a major aim of British policy to develop that country's capacity for self-government. In many of the British colonies in America, Africa, and the South Seas, such as Jamaica, British Guiana, Barbados, Trinidad, Kenya, Nyasaland, Nigeria, Mauritius, and the Seychelles, steps are now being taken to give the local population a greater degree of control over their political institutions.

The colonial peoples are also gaining a greater share in their own government through the opening up to them of most of the positions in the civil service. Associated with this process is the abolition of the "color bar," which the British Government has pledged itself to accomplish throughout the colonial empire in so far as it has the constitutional power to do so. In those colonies in which there exists the system of indirect rule through native authorities, reforms are planned with the purpose of rendering this system more conducive to the welfare of the indigenous populations.

The British make no blanket commitment to grant independence to all colonies desiring it, except in the cases that have been noted. The recent Conservative Colonial Secretary promised to establish "the maximum practical self-government within the empire at the earliest practicable time." The new Labor Prime Minister states that his Cabinet will work vigorously in the direction of "full self-government ... in all the colonies and dependencies of the empire." This explains the determination of the British delegation at San Francisco that there should be in the new charter no general promise of independence for all colonies, as was desired by the Russian, Chinese, and some other delegations.

The British colonial reformers fully recognize that, as the peoples of the various colonies acquire more and more self-government, they must be prepared to utilize their greater freedom with full advantage to themselves. Consequently the educational systems of the colonies, which in many cases have been woefully backward, are to be radically reformed. New measures are already being put into effect in some of the colonies in Africa and the West Indies. New projects are being carefully studied. One of the most far-reaching plans already decided upon is that of the Government of India for the establishment of compulsory education at the primary level, and the expansion of secondary, university, and technical instruction.

Partly as a means of establishing a firm foundation for expanding self-government and partly for its own sake, social and economic reform in many directions is being carried on throughout the empire. Health services, which in most colonies have been far too limited, are to be ex-

tended and improved. Soil conservation and other much-needed agricultural reforms have been stepped up. Measures have been adopted to check the unjust acquisition of land by whites in some African and other colonies. Encouragement is being given to native industries producing food and other goods for home consumption, in order to counterbalance the hitherto abnormal growth of production for export under the stimulus of foreign capital. Steps have been taken to check forced labor, a serious abuse in some colonies. Social insurance, factory legislation, and reforms in the interest of labor are being enacted into law. Collective bargaining has been encouraged; and labor experts, including British trade-union executives, have been sent to assist in the development of strong labor organizations. In India, plans have been worked out for expansion of the means of transportation, more efficient utilization of mineral resources, increase in food production, development of hydroelectric power, and improvement of public health.

In view of the plans and developments that have been sketched, it is not difficult to understand the British attitude toward the projects advanced by many religious and other organizations whereby all colonies not made independent would be put under international administration. Such schemes are emphatically rejected by British political leaders and colonial experts. These men maintain that an experiment of this sort would be injurious to the welfare of the colonial peoples, except in the limited scale envisaged in the San Francisco charter. However, the British welcome proposals for international cooperation in the handling of colonial problems. One such measure, the establishment of international commissions in each of the major colonial regions to aid in co-ordinating the administration of the various separate units within it, has already taken shape in the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. Commissions of a similar sort have been proposed by the British Government for the South Pacific region, Southeast Asia, West Africa, and for Southern and Eastern Africa.

Since the United States Government would be represented on several of these commissions, and since it is likely to take an active part in the work of the United Nations Organization in connection with the colonies, there should be opportunity for our people to exert a good deal of influence in encouraging the British to go forward along the path of colonial reform on which they have already made progress. We should be able, also, to induce them to take more vigorous action in removing some of the objectionable features that still characterize their policy. An added opportunity for the exertion of American influence along these lines is now presented by the accession to power of the Laborites with their progressive ideas of colonial reform.

The Church and Dependent Peoples

We believe that any exercise of national sovereignty by one nation which keeps another people against their will in a colonial or dependent status violates fundamental Christian principles no matter how undeveloped these latter peoples may be. This principle is universal, applicable equally to Oriental and Occidental empires. This General Assembly would, therefore, record its convictions that: (1) present readiness of a colonial people for self-government should be determined jointly by the people themselves, the imperial power, and the world organization; (2) peoples still unready for self-government should become an international responsibility to be administered in the spirit of trusteeship for the mutual well-being of the people themselves and of all nations looking toward eventual self-government or independence.

The 157th General Assembly.

Oakland and San Francisco

(Continued from page 17)

It may now be pointed out that the consultative groups were not representative of political structures. Rather, the organizations for which they spoke were in the real sense "grass root" structures which had been established as the free and voluntary act of citizens to protect and further their interests in a great many fields. It was these groups that found the Dumbarton Oaks draft charter unrepresentative in a large degree of the hopes and aspirations of millions of persons represented by the consultative organizations.

The conference was less than a week old when the feeling of the consultants manifested itself in a demand by the religious groups that human rights be accorded full recognition in the new world constitution. The other consultative groups promptly joined in the demand. President Philip Murray of the C I O was one of the principal speakers in expressing the views of the common people. When the demand came before the American delegation for consideration, it can be said to their credit that they at once recognized this grave deficiency in the Dumbarton Oaks draft and prompt steps were taken to stress recognition of human rights in the completed document. At the present time, human rights are a leading provision of the preamble and they are mentioned in a dozen other places throughout the proposed world constitution.

Accordance of recognition to the rights of the people to participate in the affairs of the world organization in instances where their various rights and activities are concerned did not have such smooth sailing. Some of the conference delegates, not necessarily American, were inclined toward the theory that the consultative organizations were pressure groups seeking recognition for some mysterious reason, probably personal aggrandizement.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations launched the campaign to insure recognition in the operation of the world organization of nongovernmental functional groups. The C I O submitted to the American delegation a proposal to accord this recognition by providing in the charter that any economic commission set up under the forthcoming Economic and Social Council should be comprised of representatives of the major economic groups, specifically, industry, labor, and agriculture. The American delegation met this suggestion with a proposed amendment that showed some improvement on the provision in the Dumbarton Oaks draft but still fell short of the C I O proposal. A written brief was then prepared by the C I O in support of its proposal.

This action by the C I O met with most favorable reaction from the other consultative groups, notably those representing industry and agriculture. A series of discussions among the consultants eventually led to a meeting with the full American delegation. The case of the consultative groups was presented by Philip B. Reed, of the International Chamber of Commerce; Robert M. Gaylord, of the National Association of Manufacturers; Doctor George F. Zook, of the American Council of Education; and the writer, presenting the views of American labor.

It was pointed out to the American delegation forcefully that when our national government was established, the people granted to that government certain limited powers, mainly political. Great care had been taken in those early American days to insure that all the rights and powers not so granted to the government were expressly retained by the people. The delegation was told that it was these unsurrendered rights with which the consultative groups were concerned on behalf of millions upon millions of American citizens who had formed organizations to protect and further their rights in those

fields which their forefathers had refused to turn over to any political governmental structure. In the face of this unanswerable logic, resistance throughout the entire conference to recognition of nongovernmental functional groups came to an abrupt end.

That is why at the present time the proposed world charter provides for an Economic and Social Council with the same major status as the Security Council and the World Court. The General Assembly is no longer a chowder and marching society as proposed in the Dumbarton Oaks draft. Lastly, the diplomatic language proclaiming the United Nations charter as an agreement between "the high contracting parties" now opens with the words: "We, the people of the United Nations . . . ."

Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the fact that throughout all these activities at San Francisco the religious consultative groups played a major part. Their spokesmen brought to the aid of the economic and other groups the solid religious social philosophies that have come down to us throughout the centuries.

The conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in Oakland, likewise was illustrative of the major principle that people of every race, creed, and color to the utmost reaches of the earth can and must work out their own affairs in organizations of their own choosing. The thirteen men who met at the Trade Unions Conference in Oakland were the democratically chosen representatives of 60,000,000 working people in 34 of the United Nations.

The Oakland conference was not attended with the flurry and commotion of the San Francisco conference for a number of reasons. In the first place, the Oakland conferees were charged with a specific task that had been assigned them by a World Conference of Labor Unions held in London last February. The London conference had been followed by further discussions in Paris, France, and the initial work of the Oakland conference had been carried on in Washington, D. C., before the conferees went to Oakland.

The over-all aspect of the labor conference, however, was so similar to that of the San Francisco conference that it might be called a dress rehearsal that began in London last February. The problems confronting the World Federation of Trade Unions were virtually the same as those confronting the United Nations Conference. There was the matter of reconciling any number of political philosophies, varying economic conditions, differences in language, problems of recognition of this or that group, some of which existed under the domination of governments that were highly suspect from the viewpoint of democratic philosophy. Without undue criticism of the United Nations Conference, it may be fairly stated that in the discussions of the WFTU Conference there was not so much confusion as to the basic principles involved. From the start democracy was the keynote, and there was an initial disposition on the part of all to chart out the area of agreement and to settle controversial questions by reconciliation and compromise. All the decisions of the WFTU were unanimous.

There was, in this writer's opinion, no abandonment by either the United Nations Conference or the World Federation of Trade Unions Conference of any major principle. What differences arose at various stages were differences in interpretation of those principles, and, as in all other man-made decisions, time must be trusted to make clear the correctness of the interpretations. The interpretations may have faults, but, if all men of good will will lend their utmost to the task, both conferences will prove to be historic landmarks in the history of mankind. Certainly, all groups, religious and nonreligious, can reach agreement on this statement. Good will will be the decisive factor in a peaceful world.

About Books

Puritanism and Democracy, by Ralph Barton Perry. Vanguard Press. $5.00.

Most of us who are past forty learned our American history in the Boston tradition and absorbed a respect for the Puritans which even the mudslinging of the Prohibition era has not wholly besmirched. The younger generation, having taken its history from Hollywood and the "emancipated" writers of the '20's, paints the Pilgrim Fathers in darker, more sinister colors.

Few question that the Puritans have had an influence on America out of all proportion to their numbers, but is their net influence good or evil? What did they really believe? How did their ideals and convictions—negative and positive—tie in to the America we are fighting for today?

Professor Perry answers these questions with a scholarly thoroughness that commands respect and with such a penchant for the picturesque that his pages are by no means dull reading.

"There is some point in every man's system of ideas at which his sense of humor gives out. If you are a Puritan, you may take other things lightly, but morals are no laughing matter. The Puritan held, incredible as it now seems, that morals are more important than athletics, business, or art."

Toleration, the keystone of democracy, if not actually characteristic of democracy, nevertheless emerged from it, "both as the escape from its difficulties and as the natural expression of certain of its central motives."

If Puritanism overemphasized the individual, it also greatly contributed to our understanding and respect for human rights. "It is no part of being an individualist that one should ignore or neglect the existence of other individuals. The essence of individualism is to think *for* oneself, not *of* oneself. St. Francis of Assisi is as much an individual as Napoleon or Hitler."

Perry's chapter on "Equality and Fraternity" is especially fruitful, showing nine areas of equality in which Puritanism paved the way for democracy.

Perry overlooks the self-acknowledged debt of Thomas Jefferson to the Scottish philosopher William Small as the chief single influence in his life, but uncovers from Benjamin Franklin's letters the fact that the first civilized American got his inspiration to usefulness from Cotton Mather!

That Professor Perry defines Puritanism so broadly as to include all early American Calvinists will not lessen interest in his book for readers of Social Progress.

"We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake;
The faith and morals hold which Milton held."

Harrison M. Sayre

Labor and Tomorrow's World, by G. Bromley Oxnam. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. $1.50.

In the early summer of 1921 there sailed to Europe the first of the Sherwood Eddy Seminars, which were repeated for many years afterward. Within a few hours after reaching London, the twenty Americans in this seminar were spending a rich afternoon with Ramsay MacDonald, who had just come from the north of England, where the great coal strike was then in progress. In the weeks that followed, much time was spent talking with leaders in British and continental public life, the greatest number being from organized labor in Great Britain.

The writer of this review, just graduated from college, was the humblest member of

that seminar. One of its ablest members was Bromley Oxnam. A vigor of mind and a keenness of conscience toward the needs and future of the millions whom modern society tends to submerge upon the minimal levels of existence was then apparent. Since those days he has been president of a university, a bishop of the Methodist Church, and president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. And throughout the years that have brought him these positions, he has kept close to the need of a greater ministry of the Church in the social order.

This, his most recent volume, is strongly reminiscent of his travels in 1921 and later; but it faces directly into what the Church should be thinking and doing about the world of labor today and tomorrow. An understanding of the men and women who work leads to appreciation and constructive criticism is indispensable because the wage earner is a vital "given" in the contemporary social situation. Much of this volume is an attempt to interpret the mind and heart of the worker as trade-unionist, as socialist, and as communist.

Bishop Oxnam does not believe the Church must keep hands off the ever-present issue between traditional *laissez faire* and social planning, making the best of whatever decision is fashioned by other groups and for us. The contribution of the Church is to recognize that there are values in both approaches to the economic order, and to join in working toward a synthesis that is neither *laissez faire* nor collectivist, but constitutive of the values in both.

The author is insistent that the contribution of the Church needs to be more in terms of life. This has been the case in the recent past, and at times organized labor has been more aware of it than has the Church itself. From the Church must come not words only but techniques by which the demands of the Church upon the economic order can be realized. The man in the street has a case, the author feels, in pressing upon the Church the question, "You say that this social practice is not Christian—what do you propose in its place?" And here the author brings a fine creative imagination to means by which the Church can put into the economic and industrial order the same commitment of life and talents which it has poured into the foreign field.

C.P.H.

An International Bill of the Rights of Man, by H. Lauterpacht. Columbia University Press. $3.00.

It is hard to think of a more timely book. The seriousness with which the delegates viewed the subject of human rights and fundamental freedoms is apparent throughout the charter as finally written and in the constitution of a Commission on Human Rights. Provision was made for the preparation of an international bill of rights. Certainly, it will be the obligation of the people of the Churches to encourage this commission to draw up such a bill and for an understanding of this subject, this volume will prove of great interest and help.

Written by a professor of international law at Cambridge University, the book traces the rise of the concept of human rights among Greek, Roman, and Christian thinkers. The sanctions for the assertion of these rights above the power and authority of the state have been found in natural law and in the law of the nations, and these rights have progressively received determinative recognition in constitutional and statutory law. The author's summary of history shows him to be a thinker and writer of high ability.

Following is the author's proposal for an International Bill of the Rights of Man and a discussion of the substance of it, item by item, a concrete treatment of the subject which makes the discussion that follows particularly worth-while.

The bill opens with a preamble and is followed by three parts. The first part

has to do with human rights within the broad field of personal freedom, rights which generally come within the jurisdiction of municipal courts. The second part has to do with broad social rights—political, cultural, economic. The dynamic quality of human rights is particularly well illustrated by the reasons given by the author, writing within the Anglo-Saxon tradition, for the exclusion of any reference in the bill to the right of property and the inclusion of the right to work and to an education. The third part of the bill deals with enforcement. This is to be brought about through the incorporation of most of the elements of the bill in the national constitutions, but under supervision and with the support of the international organization. The final chapter is on "The Treaty on Minorities" which was written after the last war and is perhaps the farthest we have gone to date toward an international bill of rights. The treaty points the way toward such a bill but it is too narrow to serve the purpose.

In the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the Church has a necessary and legitimate place, for these rights and freedoms inhere in that view of man of which the Christian Church is the greatest exponent. That we are standing on the threshold of the recognition of these rights and freedoms upon a global scale makes this era in history one of the greatest. Ministers and thoughtful laymen will be better equipped to serve this need of the hour by spending time in the reading and study of this volume.

C.P.H.

Clinical Pastoral Training, edited by Seward Hiltner. Commission on Religion and Health, Federal Council of Churches. $1.00.

This book is to the training of the clergy what Mary Richmond's *Social Diagnosis* is to the field of social work. The thirty-five papers that it includes were presented at the first national conference on clinical pastoral training held at the Western Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh. They sum up the contribution of the pioneers in the field over the last twenty-two years, demonstrate standards for the supervision and content of the experience-centered courses, and illustrate the relation of pastoral training to other areas in the theological curriculum. One of the papers describes this training as "a supervised experience, the purpose of which is to make real to the student in understanding and practice the methods, resources, and meanings of the Christian religion as it is expressed through pastoral care."

Three important areas in community life have provided the opportunities for this pre-parochial experience: the mental hospital with its understanding of the dynamics of sin and guilt, fear and trust, hate and love, isolation and fellowship; the work with community agencies dealing with both individual and social needs, community health, housing, education, work, and government; and the general hospital with the emphasis on the pastoral care of the sick, the use of prayer and sacraments, the relation of body and soul, and the cooperation with doctor, public-health nurse, and others.

The clinical training movement has now come of age, and there are several accounts of seminaries that have incorporated a three months' supervised experience into each year of the seminary course. Pastoral theology has often been the tool shed of the theological structure; this book suggests in the contribution of outstanding theological educators that it may well become the foundation so that all theological learning may be used in the art of pastoral practice.

The experiences considered in this book help to prepare the clergyman to know his people and to be known by them, and thus fulfill his responsibilities in the care of souls.

ROBERT D. MORRIS

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